

• YOUNG INDIA

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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY



India and U. S. Congress

Krishna's Flute

(A Painting)

• India and World Peace

Great India

(A Poem)

India and the Mohammedans



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Our Art Section

Krishna's Flute

By ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

The Krishna cycle forms the dominant impression of Rajasthani painting in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, as it does of the contemporary poetry. While the material was new, nevertheless the great development of medieval Vishnuism—Krishna, of course, is an avatar of Vishnu—has all the force of a new revelation, and represents in many respects the most modern and universal aspect of Indian religion. The leading idea is humanistic, for He becomes as we are that we may be as He is; and all those who know Him as friend or foe, or lover or son or very God are represented as obtaining salvation by their meeting with Him.

The essential themes of the cycle are the first and second of His incarnations with the milkmaids of Braundhan, and especially with Radha, the ruling motif of His stage drama, which calls upon His devotees to leave their great possessions and relinquish worldly honor for His sake; and the amorous dances of the moonlight nights beside the Jambhina. In the language of Vishnuism were: "The sampling of love and beauty reveals an eternal meaning." "The heart of man is the seat of the Life." There is an distinction here of sacred and profane, or soul and body and all the stages of human love from the opening of eyes to the ultimate recognition of identity are seen as immediate images of spiritual experience.

There is an infinite significance in the sound of Krishna's flute, for "this is not merely the sound of a flute, but deathly voices and fills the heart with power"—the power of a divine music:

and disillusionment. Krishna may be the prototype of the Poet-Pope of Hinduism, and the deliverer of men who have been pining follow Him through the labyrinth of experience far away to perfect freedom.

So in innumerable pictures Krishna is represented standing under the Jambhina tree, with groves of milkmaids, herdsman and cows, with the flute "that never ceases, sounding like a thundercloud." Then even the gods attend with their wives, and winds and water come to flow, but they should meet a single note.

"The doe with her loved one hearing the flute stands still, the Jambhina branch yields, the cows kneel, hermit and king step from the hind, and consciousness of soul and body are lost in ecstacy."

The example illustrated here, from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, belongs to an early Rajasthani (perhaps early Haridwar) type of medieval charm and gracefulness. Much of this charm is due to the soft pinkish coloring, but much is also due to the composition and drawing which may be studied in the reproduction. It will be noticed that Krishna holds the flute above his head in his right hand, and a lotus flower in his left; he wears a garland-crested crown and a long garland of flowers, and jewelry, besides the usual attire and shawl. The two milkmaids are attending him, one and her hand leaves. The Jambhina tree is being with the drooping sprays of a climber, and the Jambhina cows in the foreground.



KRISHNA WITH HIS FLUTE, AND TWO MILKMAIDS
Rajasthani painting (Haridwar) 17th century
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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Editorial Notes

Mr. Rai in Bombay

Word comes from India that Mr. Rajendra Rai reached Bombay on February sixth, where he received a magnificent ovation, a grand procession attending him as he passed through brilliantly decorated streets. In the evening a banquet was given him. There was also a great public meeting with addresses by prominent men. The city was illuminated. The next day there was a welcome meeting attended by over ten thousand persons. Mr. Rai gave an extended address in which he urged the people of India to realize the reforms offered by the British Government so far as they go, and to press resolutely and determinedly by constitutional methods for self-government. A London weekly, commenting on the above, says:

Mr. Rajendra Rai has truly earned all these plaudits, and India can be justly interested in his return. It was fortunate that he could not stay longer in London on his way to India, but his brief passage through the city was a pleasant sensation, although the leader-masters of the "freedomist" prevented him addressing even a single meeting. How every prospect is bright here!

Newsman on Congress

In 1901 Mr. H. W. Newsman, of London, wrote to his book, "The New Spirit in India" (p. 342), the following

regarding the Indian National Congress:

"In twenty-two years the Indian National Congress has been a model of constitutional propriety. It has passed excellent resolutions, it has demanded redress of acknowledged grievances, it has invited loyalty to its sovereign dominions in the representatives of the Crown. How has it been treated? By the Anglo-Indians (the British rulers of India), its constitutional propriety has been called cowardice, its resolutions have remained unacted, its promises unfulfilled, and the representatives of the Crown have refused to receive its deputations. In England, outside the hall doors who take some interest in India, no one has known where the Congress has met, what language it has spoken, what have been its demands, or what its objects, no one has known and no one has asked."

And yet men tell us that these professional, unsympathetic and arrogant British officials in India, and the ignorant and uneducated people of far-off England, who know nothing and care nothing about India's most important national organizations, are better fitted to rule the Indian people, than are the intelligent, earnest, large-minded men, born of India's home and flesh of her flesh, inheritors of her thousands of years of rich culture, acquainted with her people and sympathetic with their needs, who compose her able, dignified and free National Congress.

What is "Peace" to India?

Math is used in some quarters about the benefit of the peace produced in India by British rule. There is no better judge regarding the matter than Mrs. M. K. Gandhi who declares that the value of this peace "is only nominal, for by it the Indian people have become emancipated."

Certainly if they have not become emancipated great credit is due to themselves; for the British government by taking all power of self-determination out of their hands has done all it is in power to emancipate them.

Lincoln on Subjection

Great Britain claims that she is ruling the people of India for their benefit; it is best for them to be in subjection to a "superior nation"; she is giving them all the freedom that is good for them. In this connection it is interesting to call to mind that on the days of American slavery the slaveholders of the South made exactly the same claim regarding the negroes that they held in bondage. Abraham Lincoln as one of his famous speeches made in Chicago, July 10, 1858, replied to this claim. He said:

"These arguments that are made that the inferior must not be treated with as much attention as they are capable of expecting, that as much as is in their best interests their condition will permit—what are these arguments? There are the arguments that Kings have put forth for centuries, that the people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of Kingship, since of this sort, they always have the motto of the people, that that they wanted to do a lot better, the people were better off for being ruled. That is

their argument. You work, and I will pay you and I will enjoy the fruits of it. Then if whatever way you will, whether it come from the mouth of a King, or an emperor for controlling the people of his country, or from the mouth of one of our presidents for controlling the men of another race, it is the same old argument."

Patrick Henry and India

Said the great American, Patrick Henry: "Give me liberty or give me death." Said the great son of India, Ram Mohan Roy: "I would be free or not at all." We applaud the Americans, and call his utterance splendid patriotism. Why should we not equally applaud the Indians? Was not his utterance just as noble perfection? The wrongs suffered by India from her foreign rulers are far greater than those suffered by the American Colonies ever were.

Whitman and India

To one of the nations of Europe struggling for freedom under great discouragements and hardships, Walt Whitman wrote the following lines. They apply quite as well to the Indian people in their struggle for freedom:

Conquer yet, my brother or my slave!
Kings and liberty is to be conquer'd, what
care we?

That is nothing that is spoken by me or
any human, or any number of hu-
mans.

On by the millionaires or aspirants of the
people, or by any individualities,
On the chase of the riches of power, ad-
dors, women, great stations,
What we believe in waits longer however
through all the continents.

Revolution or war, promises nothing, and is
calculated and built, on promise and
Waiting patiently, waiting for men,
compared, knows no discouragement.

Some British Opinions

We are glad to see that many representatives of England are expressing their horror of the Fenian outrage, and are demanding that the British Government shall be the Indian people know, unmistakably and officially, not only that it does not approve of such measures, but that it will bring their perpetrators to trial and to just punishment. They are that justice requires such action on the part of the Government, and that nothing short of such action will satisfy, or ought to satisfy, the Indian people. A strong utterance on this subject is the following from the well known and honored son of Mr. A. G. Gardiner. In the February 18 issue of *India* (the London weekly) Mr. Gardiner says:

"I do not recall any event which has so universally outraged the feelings of the British people as the disclosures of the American massacre. It is of the utmost importance that this fact should be disclosed to the people of India by a prompt and confident gesture of Government. A crime has been committed in our name, and the first step towards restoring confidence in our rule in India, is to show that we are honest, brave, and just enough to admit the wrong on the face of the world and, as far as it is in our power, to make amends."

"When I am conversed with the urgent necessity of convincing the people of India that the people of England share their indignation at the appalling incident, tell its monstrous shame, and will not rest under its shadow so long longer than circumstances compel. It is the duty of the go-

vernment through Parliament to send to the people of India at the earliest possible moment after the commencement of the next Session a declaration of the national sorrow at the innocent victims, and of stern determination to show that the crime of British justice is a reality on which the people of India can rely. We have done a great wrong. Let us show we are great enough to confess it, honest enough to lament it, and just enough to punish ourselves if it."

Demand of English Women

It is interesting to notice that the women of England, now that they have the suffrage, are beginning to take up in earnest the cause of India. They have been stirred up by the cruel story of the American massacre of hundreds of unarmed Indian men, women and children. At a recent large public meeting of the Cambridge Women's Suffrage Society the following resolution was passed:

Resolved, that this meeting demand a Royal Commission to inquire into the American Massacre of April 19, 1894, and the legality of the Indian Act (in which the perpetrators of the massacre have participated), and that the Royal Commission sit in England and be composed of equal numbers of men and women. This resolution is to urge the Government (should it England sit in India who are responsible for the Massacre and for the Indian Act.

An amendment was moved by one of the men present that the word "demand" in the resolution be changed to "tendently beg." But the gentleman who

unanimously returned that the women of England have now learned to "demand" justice instead of merely "beseech" to beg" for it, and the amendment obtained only one single vote.

Other public meetings calling for justice in India have been held by women's organizations in other cities of England. And there are evidences that still more are going to be held.

The N. Y. Nation

The *New York Nation*, in a recent issue, readily, uncompromisingly and truthfully epitomizes the Indian situation, as follows:

"What is India? It is a country of more than 300,000,000 people, held in subjection to Great Britain by military force, captured for the benefit of manufacturers, merchants, and bankers in the British Isles, and administered by a highly organized civil service, the chief places in which are the possessions of the British aristocracy. The subordinated structure of some hundreds of millions of Asiatics recently—the most atrocious phase of wholesale killing of innocent people that the twentieth century has yet witnessed—is only the latest illustration of a policy which has characterized British rule in India since British rule began.

Senator Norris

Senator George W. Norris, of Nebraska, has recently spoken in the U. S. Senate in advocacy of Indian freedom. He said:

India furnished more than 4 millions men upon the various battle fronts in behalf of England's cause, and when the soldiers of India went home, rebuffed with the spirit of liberty, inheriting in the prize-money of self-determination that were made by England and the allies of England, he-brother thereby that the last struggle to make the world more free and that in the end the might share some of the fruits—when these soldiers went home and were rebuffed to demand it in peaceful assembly, they were shot down in cold blood by the British machine guns. Because England treats Canada right in the distance of England when she shoots India. No people should be ruled without their consent.

About Indians Abroad

The Secretary of the Indians' Overseas Association which has been recently established in London will be glad to receive any communication from Indian gardeners or organizations abroad, dealing with matters among which the sphere of its activity. The Association has its office at—

47-48 Dean's Lee House,
25, Strand.

London, W. C. 2.
England

We invite the attention of all persons or organizations interested in improving the conditions of the Indians living in British Colonies, to the above Association.

Latest News

Second Bombay Strike

BOMBAY, March 3.—The second Bombay mill strike is spreading. More or less mills resumed work to-day, but 25 other mills were compelled to close, and there are now altogether 18 mills idle. The cause of the fresh outbreak is the refusal of the millowners to pay wages for the last week. (London—*Daily Herald*.)

Strikers Fired Upon

BOMBAY, March 17.—British troops have fired upon a disorderly crowd of strikers at Jumbhikpur, where members of the mob opened a warning shot. Two persons were killed and twenty-four wounded. The crowd scattered when it was seen the troops were prepared to charge with the bayonets. Attempts to damage the railway were made during the disorder. Recent dispatches have indicated considerable British sentiment in the neighborhood of Jumbhikpur.

Later the military force guarding the railway was attacked and driven back a hundred yards upon which the troops fired, killing five persons and wounding twenty-three.

Explosive ordies have occurred in India recently, affecting 300,000 workmen. (N. Y. *Evening Post*.)

Bengal Assemblymen Resign

CALCUTTA, March 3.—Two members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly already resigned in protest against the —Fai-ul-Ulugh and Mohd-Kasim—have

Turkish policy of the British Government. The Khulafah conference can only called for an economic boycott, but also for an anti-recruiting campaign and for the resignation of British officers. The proclamation of a British Proclamation over Egypt was denounced, and sympathy expressed with the Egyptian people in their resistance. (London—*Daily Herald*.)

Boycott British Goods

CALCUTTA, March 10.—At the session of the Bengal Khulafah Conference on February 19 and March 1, resolutions were passed declaring for a general cessation of business on March 19 and for a boycott of British goods. Unless the Sultan's dominions are maintained intact, the Conference declares, Indian Muslims will withdraw their loyalty to Great Britain, and will "wait the Khulafah against all his enemies by every means." The co-operation of the Hindus is looked for. (London—*Daily Herald*.)

Ban on Moslem Orators

MUMBAI, March 24.—In connection with a warning issued by the Government against utilizing 100-Turkish agitators for address here, notices have been served on fifteen well-known Moslems forbidding them to attend, speak at or promote public meetings of any sort for one month.

They include the President and Secretaries of the local Congress Committee and the Moslem League. (N. Y. *Times*.)

The Mason Resolution

On February 29, Dr. M. S. Hashikar spoke at two meetings in Washington, D. C., on the present problems of India. At the evening meeting, held under the auspices of the Friends of India Foundation, he was introduced by the Hon. William E. Mason, Member of Congress from Illinois, who said in part:

I suppose any nation that seeks to govern any other nation without its consent. We have been governing the Philippines without their consent, and now since twenty years we are beginning to see our way to get out of these Islands. But we make a better job of it than England did with her colonies. We spend four dollars per capita a year for the education of the Filipinos, while England spends not more and a half per capita in India.

I have been reading reports of certain happenings in India which were so shocking that I thought they could not possibly be true. You may be confirmed from official sources, so that I am compelled to believe them. I refer to the treatment by General Dyer and his associates of innocent prisoners in Amritsar and other cities who were being kept and preparing for liberty and political against native rule. That "latter" General (perhaps I was misled to say that contemptible coward!) who aided Indian anti-Hindu Discriminating Committee, said, "Yes, I could have disposed them without firing, but they would have come back again, and his action merited the sanction of the British government in India. Talk about German atrocities! Nothing worse occurred in the late war than this deed of General Dyer, who actually shot to death who numbered five hundred unarmed men, women and children, and wounded and mangled three hundred more. Dr. Hashikar has come from New York to tell us about these atrocities. I am sure you will give him your close attention. I have the honor to introduce him to you.

Dr. Hashikar spoke for an hour, and at the close of his address the following

resolution was unanimously passed:

In view of the fact that the representatives of the Indian nation assembled at the Thirtieth-Sixth Session of the Indian National Congress, held in the city of Amritsar, India, in December 1919, declared their unwillingness to tolerate any longer under the autocratic regime of England, and have demanded self-rule in accordance with the principles of self-determination, we, the Friends of India Foundation, at Washington, D. C., unanimously declare our strong support for the cause of India, and assure the Indian people our cooperation and help.

The people of India will be glad to know that Congressman Mason is going still further in his efforts to create public sentiment in this country in favor of Indian freedom. In an address delivered in Brooklyn, N. Y., on March 7, he gave India's claim for self-rule very able and intense advocacy. But of all, he has actually carried the cause of India into the United States Congress, by introducing, on March 2, the following Concurrent Resolution into the United States House of Representatives. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed, with the hope that law it would come before both houses of Congress.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION.

"Whereas all just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed; and

Whereas it has been the policy of the Republic of the United States to give recognition without intervention to the struggling people who seek self-determination; and

Whereas the atrocities committed in India by British soldiers and officers, which have met the approval of the British officials, has shocked the sense of justice of the American people; and

Whereas as a result of the great war many of the small people of the world are being recognized by the United States so they seek to govern themselves; and

Whereas the American people believe the same rule of self-determination should apply to those people who are subjected by force to the government of Great Britain that is applied to the other nations that have sought self-determination and are recognized by the United States; and

Whereas the Government of Great Britain, which now controls India and governs it by force without the consent of its people, has tried to make a appeal by its propaganda that it has given so-called "home rule" in India, which is substantially the same brand of home rule which has always been given by the master nation to the slave nation; and

Whereas there has grown up in India what is known as the Indian National Congress, which began in 1885 with seventy-two delegates, and now meets annually, and at its last session held in December, 1919, was attended by eight thousand delegates, which has applied to the world for recognition and sympathy to the Indian people in their efforts to govern themselves, and which has denounced the so-called "home rule" as a mere pretense to continue the people of India

as subject slaves of Great Britain; Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the duty of the Government of the United States to carry out the will of the people in give such recognition without intervention to the people of India who are struggling for self-determination, so will assist them in their efforts for self-government."

We are deeply indebted to Congressman Mason for the excellent service he has rendered to India by introducing the above resolution in the House of Representatives. He is a valued address to our long list of sympathizers in Washington, D. C. He was the champion of Cuban liberty and has always fought for the freedom of Korea and the Philippines. He has left no stone unturned in advocating freedom for Ireland and has now taken up the cause of the largest subject nation in the world. When he heard the call of the Indian people for freedom from bondage, he hastened to do his best by bringing their cause before the representatives of the people of the United States.

It now remains for all lovers of liberty to see that the resolution introduced into Congress by Mr. Mason goes through both Houses. Our immediate duty is to request members of Congress as far as possible with the meeting conditions in India. Young India is trying to do things but it is also necessary that American upholders of liberty for all oppressed peoples—whether of India, Ireland, Egypt or Korea—should get busy and write to the members of the

Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committee of both the House of Representatives and the Senate, urging them to give immediate consideration to the cause of the three hundred and fifteen millions of people staring for liberty in India.

In connection with this, we have already sent out circular letters with definite suggestions, and we earnestly hope that all those interested in human liberty will immediately write to the Chairman and members of the above mentioned Congressional Committee.

India and World Peace

By LAJPAT RAI.

(This article was written by Mr. Raj on board the steamer and mailed to us in India. Editor.)

Whether India is to be free or slave, whether she is to be permitted most freely to attain the independence of which for nearly two centuries she has been robbed, or is to continue to be held in subjection against her will by a foreign power, is a question of world-conscience; for it is a question upon which, more than perhaps upon any other, the future peace of Asia and Europe and therefore the world depends.

To us Indians the problem of India is national; to a Briton it is imperial (that is, a question of his own Empire); but to humanity it is international. India is such a huge mass of the earth, and contains such an immense population, that no power interested in world-affairs can ignore its importance. Historically it is the pivot of the Orient. Religiously it occupies a wholly unique place in Asia, because it is the home of Hinduism, the birthplace of Buddhism,

and the most important field of present-day Islamic activities. It is the centre of Asiatic culture; China and Japan bow to it in reverence, while Central Asia and western Mohammedan countries look to it for support and comfort. Its human personalities of all kinds are very great. Commercially, too, it is a bridge for nearly half the globe. It is the key to the Indian Ocean and the clearing house of the larger part of the trade of the Orient. Its natural resources are so numerous as to defy the imagination.

This is the reason why nations and empires have always looked upon it with eyes of greed and glory. This is why India has inspired Alexander, Tamerlane, Wellesley, Clive and Kannek with visions of world-empire. This is why for two centuries Great Britain has shaped her foreign diplomacy, her military plans and her imperial policy with a constant eye to strengthening her hold



"If he would be free, himself must —"

no India, her ancient practices, her great sources of wealth and prestige. This is why she has turned on us ready wars to guard the borders of India, to keep open her road to India and to weaken any nation that might endanger her possessions of India.

Now well India in the future be any less an apple of discord among the nations, and a source of endless plottings, jealousies and wars, so long as she remains a subject people,—a rich prize to be coveted, sought for and fought for by rival nations. Her only safety, and the only promise of peace for the Orient as for Europe lie in her independence, and therefore her emancipation, in her coming to be a power on the chessboard of the world's diplomatic, imperialistic and capitalist plottings, as her standing as her own feet, in her growing power to protect herself, to shape her own career and to co-operate with other nations in friendly ways, and thus become a factor in constructive world-life, instead of a centre of wars and world-consumes.

Subject peoples, held down by the sword, are always discontented peoples, who are continually craving and hating their rulers, who are continually conspiring and plotting to throw off the yoke that is on their necks and drive these freedom. This must always be preeminently true of India so long as she is held against her will by a foreign power. In the very nature of the case no League of Nations and no other possible agency or power can guarantee peace in the world so long as a great civilized nation, located in the very centre of the world's greatest continent and possessing one fifth of the entire population of the globe, is an

bondage. We see, therefore, why the problem of India is not only a world problem, but a problem more fundamental to the world's security and peace than perhaps any other whatsoever.

II

There are Englishmen who ask me and my companions, "Why are you not satisfied? What do you want?" The very tendency of the question is staggering. That such questions can be asked shows the utter moral callousness to which intelligent human beings can be reduced by military power and by the long process of ruling others without their consent. What do we want? Are we not men as well as you? What would you want, if, like us, you were held in subjection by the sword of a foreign power; if you were dominated industrially by alien capitalists; if you were exploited financially by greedy money lenders of another land; if you were unrelentingly abused by rulers who deprived you of schools, and who shaped such education as you were permitted to have in such a manner as to crowd out and belittle and so far as possible destroy your own history and literature and culture, and substitute in their place the more materialistic civilization in its place, if you were tortured and flogged and killed day and night by men claiming mastery over you, who were without spiritual aims, who worshipped money and power as their gods, and who were unable even to understand much less to appreciate the intellectual, the moral and the spiritual ideals of your nation and race?

You ask of us, "Why are you not happy under British rule?" I have never given my answer. It might or have been given to you. It would have been, if your nature had not been so hardened by trampling on others' rights. We are not happy under British rule because we are not bricks or stones, because we have feelings, ambitions, national pride, because we are human. We are not happy, because the rule is alien, is based on us, is British and not ours. From time to time we have asked for a little freedom under your rule, a little opportunity for self-determination, for self-development. You have answered by jails and confinement, by degradation and transportation.

What we want is our freedom, the right to live our lives, the opportunity to manage our affairs and to be ourselves. Forbidden to be men and not yet, per-

mitted to be a nation with power to manage our own affairs and carry out our own ideals, we can be a source of strength to humanity, we can contribute our share to the world's stock of knowledge, of art, of science, of poetry, of music; we can co-operate with the other civilized nations in keeping the peace of the world and in carrying about the banner of human progress. But as British aliens we are more power as a power, to be used by foreign masters to "breakers of wood and drawers of water" in no English that our only enemies our liberty, law, at its will, even conspire us as its soldiers to fight the battles of imperialism and conquest to crush out the liberties of other peoples.

I trust I have now made clear what it is that India wants, and why she is not content, and never can be, under British or any other foreign yoke.

World's Judgment

By J. T. SPENCERLAND.

The following five principles, affirming the right of all nations to be free, have the sanction of the American Declaration of Independence, of the Supreme Court of the United States, of all the accredited Peace Societies of the United States and Europe and of the highest authorities in International Law in the modern world:

I. "Every nation has the right to exist, and to protect and conserve its independence."

Does not this mean India? India is a nation.

II. "Every nation has the right to make judgments on the matter that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and should be free to develop and I without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not practice with or to the rights of other states."

Does not this mean India? India is the second largest nation in the world. III. "Every nation is in law and before

lose the spirit of every other nation belonging to the category of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, in essence, setting the precedent of the earth, the supreme and sacred status in which the laws of nature and of nature's God guide them."

Does not this mean India? India is a nation of 115,000,000 people.

T "Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise sovereign jurisdiction over its territory and all persons, whether native or foreign, found there."

Does not this mean India? India is not only a nation, but a highly civilized nation.

V "Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are co-existent, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe."

Does not this mean India? India has been a civilized nation since long before the birth of any nation in Europe.

By what law of nations, then, or of God, or of justice, is India denied her freedom?

II

The British Government in India has been aptly compared to a Banyan Tree. Under a banyan tree nothing will grow. The tree overshadows and kills all life beneath it. The only growth visible are the new stems that grow from above, from the tree itself; there is no root and develop; nothing else can.

So in India, everything that has any chance of life is what comes down from the all-powerful, all-overshadowing Government. All else is doomed. Accretions on the part of the people is not encouraged, it is checked and made impossible. Independent life among the people is killed. It is easy to see that no greater calamity can befall any people than to be compelled to live under such a government.

The most important thing for a child is to have its powers and faculties called out, developed to the fullest degree. The school or the home that does this builds its true foundation. The school or the home that fails to do this is a calamity. In this manner, the most important thing for a nation is to train and develop its people into the strongest, most efficient life possible. The government then does the building the function of a true government. The government that fails here is a curse. This is what every sovereign government in the world does to a greater or less extent. The government of India does it in the fullest measure, because it allows no power of national self-determination whatever to rest on the hands of the people ruled. No banyan tree needs to destroy more completely all vegetable life beneath its shade than does the autocratic government which Great Britain maintains in India tend to destroy all initiative, all independence, checking all independent life among the people over whom it holds shadow away.

Here we see one of the strongest reasons why the Indian people desire to shake off or change their present gov-

ernment, and give for themselves the power of self-direction. They feel that the whole nation is being weakened, emasculated, injured in the most vital way. They feel that their very life depends upon their gaining freedom to

think, to speak, to plan, to do, to develop, to be themselves, to shape their own destiny, to grow—which they can never do under the blighting shade of the banyan tree of an autocratic, shadow-hungry foreign rule.



Courtesy of Royal Photist—London

British Soldiers Guarding the Drawing Room Under Martial Law

Great India

By AMY DUDLEY.

THE wealth of the world was my dower,
My eyes and ears were wide;
In the days of my glory and power
I poured out my treasures like wine.

And the world was enriched by my wisdom;
My gold and my jewels have shone
In the crowns of your kings and your princes—
And for these you have given a stone.

Now the heart of Old Asia is risen,
And darker than night is the gloom
Enshrouding my land, while my people
Are driven toward ultimate doom.

On the winds from my snowed Himalayas,
From the plains where my great rivers sweep,
Comes the pitious moaning of children
And the wailing of women who weep.

For the alien that holds them in bondage
Is deaf to humanity's need,
And my sons and my daughters are helpless,
Enchained by lustreless greed.

They tell that the stranger may profit,
They say that the stranger may reap;
In prisons they rot; they are slaughtered—
Sent into the charnel-houses like sheep.

I mothered the race from which nations
Have risen and waxed great and strong . . .
*The Wheel of the Law is eternal—
A Cycle of Time is not long.*

I gave you the seed that you follow,
And the God at whose altar you bow;
At your feet I have poured out my treasures,
In vain shall I call to you now?



Monument to the Unknown Soldier

Wall of Independence Park at Lucknow, India, where Kipling celebrated the anniversary
on an unusual crowd peacefully assembled to protest against the
Rudyard Kipling in 1928. Mark the deep hollow holes.

that Great Britain fears; for it means that India can no longer be trifled with, the united demands of her 50,000,000 Mohammedans and her 100,000,000 Hindus must be heeded.

A question which for some months past has been greatly agitating the Mohammedans of India and also of other countries, is that of the partition of Turkey and the entry of the Khalifah in the leadership of the Mohammedan Church, which rests in the Sultan. A Mohammedan delegation has recently come from India to England to urge that an arrangement shall be made by the Allies which will perpetuate the Khalifah. The delegation is headed by Mir Muhammad Ali, who was arrested by the British Government in India during the war. Speaking to a London correspondent of the United Press, Mr. Ali explained the object of his delegation to England and pointed out the seriousness of the situation. He said:

"There is no hostile feeling in the Mohammedan world against that Christian neighbour—... but if anything of that kind develops in Europe it is only to be expected that a similar spirit will develop out of them.

"Mohammedans are not trying to take Turkey from her side or the position of being on the losing side as a power. But they will not stand for the abolition of the Khalifah, not cannot sanction the establishment of a Mohammedan Papal 'Pronner of the Bombard' of Constantinople.

people. They must have an independent Khalif (religious head), supported by an adequate army and navy and financial resources, to enable him to defend their faith in the case of necessity.

"Twenty-five Indian Mohammedans consider themselves outraged . . . by this crusade against the Turks, and they are supported by 25,000,000 of their co-religionists elsewhere. To the mass Mohammedan the Khalifah is sacred as Constantinople, but as far as India is concerned it is not merely a religious question, but a national one.

"The Indian people, regardless of religion or creed, are determined to support their Mohammedan brethren. And government people cannot be ignored."

The situation is very serious indeed! The Allies, wriggling nervous and armed to the teeth, would seem determined to dismember Turkey against the sentiment of India. That the situation is fast developing into a crisis unparallelled since 1917 is very evident from the dispatch which appeared in the *New York Herald* of March 26. The dispatch is given below.

London, March 22.—At a meeting in London, Gandhi, a well known leader, made a statement stressing that not only would His Majesty's Ministers who headed the Government of India within the Empire disown themselves from "irresponsible" anti-Turk agitation in Great Britain, but would secure the settlement of the Khalifah question through the aid of the religious authorities of the Mohammedans, adding that any contrary action would result in the complete withdrawal of its assistance with the Government and finally declaring that the Muslims reserved the right of taking such

steps as the exigencies of the situation should require.

The real enemy Mohammedanism had located on the last almost which means that it was violent intent to achieve their end, they should be at liberty to resort to other methods injurious on them by the Allies. These were. They should have the country in which their religion was created or go to war against the Muslims.

This resolution was adopted as an unimpeachable manner that the last stage of the Khalifah movement would be a bloody revolution. God forbid that the enemy should pass through such horrors, but looking at the question can so high that an extraordinary solution of the Turkish question might

lead India to a revolutionary movement the like of which has not been seen before.

During the past month the Mohammedans and the Hindus of the City of New York have met twice to discuss the Muslim question and have formed a "Hindu-Muslim Society." At one of these meetings resolutions were adopted strongly affirming the justice of the Mohammedan claim. The "Society" will gladly answer all questions relating to this problem.



Condition of the "Western Front"—1918.

French digging under British lines in America, Paris.

The Future of India*

By ALVIN JOHNSON.

Lajpat Rai has returned to India, to play his part—a significant part, of stability and courage count—in the projected movement of India toward her rightful place among the nations of the world. His departure is our great loss, for there was none in America so keen and intelligent an interpreter of the life and the aspirations of India. Our generation needed a real interpreter, the man because we had taken Kipling's India for what it was not, a political and social reality, instead of for what it was, a brilliant product of Mr. Kipling's imagination, real only in an artistic sense, like Homer's Phœnix. In Lajpat Rai's India you see a rather unromantic India, in which poverty is brought into relation with the land tax, and the system of taxation is brought into relation with the traditions of British officialdom and the consciousness of British crimes in India's economy, in which democracy replaces itself by reference to the school budget, in which industrial dependence calls for a proper place beside political dependence; in which revolutionary wars are seen to arise from a strong mood of a "hunger for bread, half savings and half child," and becomes a perfectly intelligible reaction to the exclusion of a spirited people from oppor-

tenities, economic and political. Lajpat Rai is not a professional writer; his descriptive method is to keep facts upon facts, derived chiefly from the British official literature. This method usually produces dry books, but reading of Lajpat Rai's is dry. On the contrary, his books are among the most fascinating political studies of the day.

"The Political Future of India" is an argument for granting India the political status enjoyed by the self-governing dominions of the British Empire. And why not? An accident's ready reply is that India has not the requisite political capacity to govern herself. What has India ever known about democracy? The truth is, India knows as much about it as any people in the world at the time when she fell under Christianized rule. She knows as much about democracy now as Poland or Russia or Rumania or Japan knows. But we should never think of denying those people the right to self-governing. But is not India still into nations that might want an influence on politics? The answer will, no doubt, come, but need they wait a greater influence than the difference between laborers and capitalists in the western world? Still, India has that terrible rift between the Hindu and Mohammedan. That rift is not so wide in the city be-

twice Christian and Jew in Poland. Must we be frank and admit that our attitude in self-government for India runs upon the color of the Hindu's skin? Neither are the Japanese of the white race; did they not eventually win all diplomatically in the peace? All the excellent ground reasons why India should not be self-governing prove hollow, if you examine them in the light of the facts.

There are specific reasons why the British government can not at once and wholly relax its grip on Indian internal

affairs. Lajpat Rai urges reform, not revolution. He asks for India hardly more than a British Liberal would freely grant; certainly no more than a British Laborite would regard as fair. Yet it is so much more than India now has that the grant of it would quiet revolutionary activity and make the Britishist threat against India utterly vain. That India may take her place in the new civilization, she must be self-governing, for only so can she develop the leadership without which the most amiable wars, if not a focus of disorder between East and West.

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